DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 231 684 SO 014 678

AUTHOR Boateng, Felix A.
TITLE Western Education and Political Leadership in Africa: The Ghana Experience.
PUB DATE Oct 82
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the National Conference on the Third World (5th, Omaha, NE, October 27-30, 1982).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Activism; *African History; Black Studies; Colonialism; Dissent; *Higher Education; *Leadership; Political Attitudes; *Politics
IDENTIFIERS *Ghana

ABSTRACT

Contrary to the conventional notion that the principles of Western higher education were significant factors in predisposing Western educated Africans toward political liberation movements, this paper attempts to demonstrate that factors more complex than the ideals of Western higher education were involved. Specifically, the paper argues that it is not the revolutionary or the non-revolutionary ideals or content of Western education that have inspired the intellectuals to initiate liberation movements, but rather it was their own personal interests nurtured by the politics of colonialism that forced these academics into the field of politics. Evidence is drawn from the Ghana experience to demonstrate that colonial politics deprived the intellectuals of any meaningful role in the colonial system and, as a result, they were pushed into the political arena to lead the struggles for independence and decolonization. It is concluded that after assuming leadership, these intellectuals have rather contributed to the perpetuation of neo-colonialism and other problems of decolonization on the African continent. (RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED231684

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Felix A. Boateng

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Western Education and Political Leadership in Africa: The Ghana Experience

by:

Felix A. Boateng, Ph.D
Black Studies Program
Washington State University
Pullman, WA 99164

Presented at the 5th National Conference on the Third World: October 27-30, 1982

SP 014 678

Western Education and Political Leadership in Africa:
The Ghana Experience

Introduction

An examination of most popular writings on higher education and political leadership in Africa indicates that the ideals of western higher education instilled in Africans the predisposition towards political leadership and liberation movements. In the words of William Hanna, "the conception, birth and maturation of Africa's newly independent states have in large part been the work of modern African intellectuals."[1] Unlike the west where conventional politics has been the preserve of "well established aristocrats, landed gentry with ample leisure and more recently the businessmen,"[2] in Africa, the evidence seems to suggest that the intellectuals have provided the leadership and the initiative for liberation movements and the continuing political life of the states. As one political analyst put it more than ten years ago:

> "Western education has been the most revolutionary of all influences operating in Sub-Saharan Africa since the imposition of European rule. It has been the instrument of the creation of a class indispensable for imperial rule, but one which invariably has taken the leadership in challenging and displacing that rule." (3)

However, contrary to the conventional notion that the principles of western higher education were significant factors in predisposing western educated African towards political liberation movements, this paper attempts to demonstrate that factors more complex than the ideals of western higher education, propelled western educated Africans into the politics of liberation. Specifically, the paper argues that it is not the revolutionary or the non-revolutionary ideals or content of western education that have inspired the intellectuals to initiate liberation movements, but rather

it was their own personal interests nurtured by the politics of colonialism that forced these academics into the field of politics. The writer will draw evidence from the Ghana experience to demonstrate that colonial politics deprived the intellectuals of any meaningful role in the colonial system and as a result they were pushed into the political arena to lead the struggles for independence and decolonization. The paper will conclude by arguing that after assuming leadership, these intellectuals armed with their western educational experience have rather contributed to the perpetuation of neo-colonialism and other problems of decolonization on the African continent.

For the purposes of this paper, a distinction is made between the western-educated intellectual and the traditional African intellectual whose intellectual orientation is rooted in indegenous African traditions. The intellectual referred to in this paper is the western educated African who has obtained a higher degree from a western oriented university either in Africa or in any western country. Such academics often exhibit the skills and concerns associated with such an education. The writer recognizes the fact that it is not all university graduates who are considered intellectuals and at the same, it is not all intellectuals who are university graduates. However, the present discussion has special relevance to those intellectuals who show the skills and concerns associated with western education.

Colonial Policies and the Development of Western Education

To offer a complete appreciation of the role of the African intellectual in the political development of African states, an examination of the emergence of western education and the objectives of colonial rule is

instructive. In other words, the prominence of intellectuals in the socio-economic and political development of African states arises, in part, from Africa's background of colonialism and foreign domination. Formal education and especially higher education is not new to Africa, but, in in its contemporary form, little is owed to the ancient tradition of scholarship which flourished, among other places, in Timbuctoo's University of Sankore and other centers of Islamic education. "The modern universities of Africa," Ashby correctly notes, "have their roots not in any indigenous system of education, but in a system brought from the west."[4] The experience of Ghana, a former British territory, in the area of higher education, will provide adequate information that can be generalized for the greater part of Africa.

Specialists in African education, including Scanlon and McWilliam indicate that the basic foundation of the present Ghanaian school system was laid by the nineteenth century missionaries who had come to "westernize" the African, and to help in the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade. The records show that the schools established by the missionaries were, as expected, oriented toward Christian religious education. However, as Britain's commercial and political interests in Ghana grew, education became increasingly secular.[5] As commerce expanded and as the industrial revolution began to spread at an alarming rate in Europe, European powers began to assume complete physical control of areas in Africa where their missionaries had already established themselves through their school systems. Looking broadly at the history of colonialism in Ghana and the rest of Africa, one can conclude that the determination of the colonial powers to exploit the natural and human resources of Africa was facilitated by the work of the missionaries.

The missions provided the necessary brainwashing in their schools to produce the African personnel needed by the British to ensure their exploitation of the colonies. The colonial policy, known in history as the policy of indirect rule, called for African workers to fill the lower positions in the colonial administration and commercial establishments since it was felt that "native" workers were less expensive than British expatriates.[6] The educational aim was therefore to provide qualified Ghanaians with a modicum of modern skills, to fit them for subordinate and routine tasks as clerks or bookeepers in the colonial administration as well as in commercial firms. The demand for "junior" clerks, who did not need any skills training, apart from reading and writing, therefore encouraged only the establishment of primary and, to some extent, secondary schools.

Primary education was found to be adequate because it satisfied the British policy of indirect rule which made room for the traditional power of indigenous African chiefs, rather than the skills of high educated Africans, in the execution of colonial policies at the local and regional levels. Under the policy of indirect rule, British officials and institutions were on top of the administrative hierarchy. Immediately below them were the indigenous African institutions and chiefs who received directives from the British officials and implemented them at the local level by employing the skills of elementary and half-educated Africans who were to be found at the bottom of the hierarchy. The ruling European minority, thus, regarded itself as an elite and was so regarded by the African population. The colonial structure of administration, under indirect rule, presented a situation which, at least for awhile, assured the British imperial power of control over the land and natives labor-power. This British policy therefore implied a carefully controlled development of an educational system in

close timing with the suppression of the cultural, political and economic growth of their subjects. Since the system created room for only primary school graduates, for a while, any discussion of the establishment of higher education was suppressed. This situation, of course, could not last forever.

According to Scanlon, O'Connel and Cowan, enrollment in primary schools after the 1920's began to double and triple. Thousands of children were finishing primary schools and could not continue their education because of the limited number of secondary schools and the absence of a university. But it is a well-known fact in educational studies that once a person learns how to read, it becomes difficult to control what he reads or his desire to reach the higher forms of learning. The desire for higher education which prevailed in Ghana and other African countries at this time was reinforced by the African's yearning for the secret of European power. The autobiographical account of a distinguished Senegalese tells how his responsible elders explained to him that he must go to the higher level of European schools to find answers to his question. One said:

> "Our grandfather and his elite were defeated. Why? How? Only the newcomers know. We must ask them. We must go among them to learn the art of winning without being right." (7)

This sort of calculating and instrumental attitude and desire led many Africans to seek higher education outside their colonized countries. Ghanaians who could afford studies in Europe and elsewhere left Ghana to seek the source of the power of the European.

Western Higher Education and the Politics of Liberation

Until 1948, Ghanaians who wished to further their education either had to go to Europe or face strong competition to enter Fourah Bay

College in Sierra Leone. Fourah Bay College, founded in 1827 as a mission college, was the only institution of higher learning in West Africa that opened her gates to African students. The British colonial government refused to establish universities in Ghana. Despite countless reasons given elsewhere for the lack of university education in West Africa, it is clear that universities were in short supply simply because colonial officials "were not enthusiastic about coping with multitudes of African graduates who might cause them difficulties and eventually claim their jobs."[8] This fear of competition was prevalent among colonial officials and consistent efforts were exerted by them to keep skilled African graduates of primary schools at the level of junior positions in the government administration and commerce.

The situation gradually began to change after the second world war when Ghanaian soldiers from the war and a few graduates from overseas western institutions began to demand a bigger voice in the colonial government. According to Adam Curle and Scanlon, the end of the war and its effects on the rise of nationalist feelings in Ghana and the agitation of western educated intellectuals, pushed Britain to accept the idea of the colonials moving toward national independence and of the need for more highly skilled manpower. However, it is the contention of this writer, that the agitation of the western-educated intellectuals for independence from the British had very little to do with content of their training in western institutions. In other words, without denying them the credit for initiating liberation movements in Ghana and other parts of Africa, it must be pointed out that circumstances operating outside their western experience pushed these intellectuals faster into the political arena.

To begin with, during the colonial period, and as it was pointed out earlier, only junior administrative posts in Ghana were open to the most highly educated Ghanaians. The conditions of service were usually inferior to their counterparts recruited in the United Kingdom. Western educated Ghanaians therefore returned to Ghana and faced a society with a very limited occupational structure. Colonial politics, namely the politics of indirect rule, did not make room for the ready acceptance and rapid advancement of the western educated African. Although he had an impressive status among his fellow Africans, especially his elders, he received much less regard from the Europeans who controlled his best chances of occupational success.

Secondly, colonial Ghana, as Shils explains, lacked a clearly defined middle class that could utilize the "literary products" of the intellectuals.[9] Poverty and the absence of significant industrial development prevented the emergence of demand for highly trained technicians in engineering, industrial chemistry and other technological fields from the private sector. Illiteracy was also a factor in limiting the market for books, journals, newpapers and other means of disseminating specialized professional knowledge. Journalism, for example, provided few opportunities for employment as a result of the widespread illiteracy. The medical profession was held to a limited few, since the course of study was very costly. Moreover, according to research reports furnished by Edward Shils, many of the appointments to senior level jobs in medical services were preempted by the colonial government and consequently reserved for foreigners.[10]

As a result of the above conditions, and the fact that the British policy of indirect rule downgraded the placement of educated Ghanaians in

the political decision making process, intellectuals found little opportunity for employment in their chosen academic fields. Thus, they turned to the field of politics to effect changes. Emerson characterizes the intellectuals of this period in the following manner:

> "Conscious that they no longer fit into the older society from which they had emerged, they found themselves rejected as equal partners by the dominant westerners. While many were absorbed into the framework of colonial governments and enterprise, they were denied access to the upper positions of responsibility, command and wealth. Inevitably, they felt the bitter frustration of inability to secure in their own societies positions which correspond to their expectations and newly acquired knowledge and skills." (11)

Although a few opportunities for obtaining wealth were open to intellectuals through the trading occupations, the effect of western education was to socialize individuals to "anticipate career patterns which they were not permitted to fulfill."[12] It is therefore clear that it was the conditions of the period and the personal interests of the intellectuals that forced them into the area of agitational and conspiratorial politics. Analysis of some activities of the intellectuals in colonial Ghana will illuminate the reality of the personal interest that propelled the intellectuals into the political arena.

In the special case of Ghana, the political activities of the intellectuals acquired early significance with the formation of the Fanti Confederation in 1868 - a confederation allegedly founded by Fanti (a coastal ethnic group in Ghana) chiefs to demand self-government from the British. According to David Apter, the constitution of the Confederation had appended to it the names of all the principal Fanti traditional chiefs and the western educated intellectuals.[13] It provided for the creation of a legislative assembly with powers of direct taxation. As Claridge points out, the articles of the constitution were mostly drawn up by the intellectuals, "primarily no doubt for the good of their country, but secondarily

for the benefit of themselves."[14] He adds, further that many of the chiefs who are supposed to have signed the document were not even present at the meetings. This is recorded as the intellectuals first attempt to gain power, and as Philip Foster points out in his analysis of the Confederation, had the Confederation succeeded, there would have been a partial transfer of power from the chiefs to the western-educated minority.[15] One may recall here that the politics of indirect rule had placed the traditional rulers in a position of relative authority above the educated Ghanaians. The intellectuals therefore found it necessary to work with the chiefs to exploit the lines of communication the chiefs "enjoyed" with the colonial authorities.

The Confederation itself was short-lived due to strong opposition from the colonial regime, but the significance of the confederation lay in its revelation of the growing strength of western-educated elements on the coast of Ghana. The activities of the intellectuals in this confederation also reveal their desire to preserve personal interests.

Before the end of the nineteenth century, the western-educated group was more successful in its organization of another protest association to be known as the "Aborigines Rights Protection Society." The association was organized with the aim of defeating a Public Lands Bill that sought to convert to the British crown land, all unoccupied areas in Ghana, and aimed at checking the process of land takeover by other European mining and timber companies. Losing the land was regarded by the western-educated elements and the chiefs as unpardonable interference in tribal concepts of land trusteeship. A deputation was sent to England after the formation of the society. The efforts and the agitation of the western-educated group, led by men like J. Casely Hayford and J. Mensah-Sarbah ensured the withdrawal of the Lands Bill.

It is obvious that the intellectuals harbored some patriotic feelings in the formation of the "Aborigines Rights Protection Society," yet their personal interests in reaching the top of the political ladder cannot be overlooked and/or dismissed. The Aborigines Right Protection Society continued as a nationalist organization and acted as the spokesmen of the chiefs and people of Ghana. According to Sloan and Kitchen, this group gradually came to harbor distinct political ambitions of their own - to supplant the chiefs in substance if not in form; to win some degree of self-government and eventually independence.[16]

Considering the colonial political conditions which drove the intellectuals into political agitation and the subsequent disappointing performance of the same intellectuals as leaders of post-colonial Africa, it is difficult to assess the impact their western academic preparation had on their desire to struggle for liberation. Subsequent activities of the intellectuals after taking power in post-colonial Africa enrich the suspicion that personal interests dominated their desire to overthrow the colonial regimes.

A fascinating factor in post colonial African politics has been the desire of these intellectuals to cling to power regardless of the yearning for change on the part of their constituents. As Adjei Brenya remarks in an article on one-party states in Africa, "beyond two decades single individuals in various places (in Africa) have so dominated their countries that as of now it is virtually impossible to visualize those countries without their 'very respected leaders.'"[17] Professor Brenya is, of course, referring to leaders like Hastings Banda of Malawi, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast, Sekou Toure of Guinea and many others who, as western-educated intellectuals, fought for their countries'

independence and have since come to regard these countires as personal properties. These "colonial intellectuals" often use the argument advanced for the imposition of one party state structure to perpetuate their personal rule. They argue that their presence as leaders of these one party states should ensure national unity and rapid economic development. But as Brenya points out, "a casual look at the African political scene quickly dispels any semblance of credibility in these declared objectives."[18] In fact, the reverse is true. These one party states with permanent power holders are usually poor - especially those that have outlawed all opposition parties. "The amazing fact," states Brenya:

> "is that while the masses - for whom and on whose behalf these one-party structures have been instituted - continue to be improverished to the point of starvation, (these) leaders are some of the richest persons in the entire world, with mansions and private jets spanning Paris, Geneva, London etc. Europe and American are their playgrounds." (19)

These intellectuals' determination to subordinate their countries' interests to their own personal interests is very clear. It must be pointed out, at this juncture, that the activities of these colonial intellectuals coupled with the training and performance of contemporary western-educated intellectuals on the African scene, have contributed to the growth of neo-colonialism. However, a full appreciation of the role of modern day African intellectual in the perpetuation of neo-colonialism cannot be achieved without a discussion of the emergence and objectives of western higher institutions in Africa.

Emergence of Western Higher Education in Ghana

As it was pointed out earlier, the nationalist activities of the intellectuals and the soldiers after the second world war put pressure on the British colonial government in Ghana, to accept the idea of the need

for more highly qualified skilled manpower. A commission of inquiry, later to be known as the Asquith Commission, was appointed by the colonial government to study the prosepcts for higher education to meet the expected the need for highly skilled manpower. The University College of the Gold Coast (Ghana) was founded in 1948 as a result of the recommendations of Asquith Commission's Report, published in 1945.[20] The terms of the report make it clear that the establishment of the college was intended as a measure to promote the eventual independence of the Gold Coast. Thus, this college could not be stigmatized, as many of the West African schools had been, as an institution geared to producing subordinate officials to maintain the British rule.[21] The report stipulated, further, that academic standards were to be maintained under the guardianship of an English University. Subsequently, London University established a system known as a special Relationship with the College by means of which this tutelage was operated.[22] In effect, the standards for entry to the University College of the Gold Coast were determined by the requirements of London Syllabi were developed jointly, and examinations set and corrected in the same way. For all intents and purposes, the University College of Ghana, at its genesis, was in all respects the University of London. Degrees received by students from the college were known as London degrees. In the words of Eric Ashby, the University was a "replica of the British University at its best."[23] Later on in the second half of the twentieth century, two more universities were established in Ghana. It is interesting to note that other universities in Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya were established on the same basis as the University College of Ghana. The historical circumstances of the

foundation of these universities have largely conditioned their effectiveness as institutions of high learning in these developing countries. In fact, to a large extent, they have become the pillars of neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism is defined, for the purposes of this discussion, as a system in which an independent country in Africa finds itself, culturally intellectually and, more importantly, economically dependent on the former colonial power. It is the thesis of the last part of this paper that universities in Africa contributed and still contribute immensely to the eternalization of neo-colonialism mainly through the maintenance of the western or specifically, the British higher educational philosophy.

To begin with, most African universities are patterned after the universities in the "metropolitan" countries and with few exceptions there has not been any attempt to create their own identity and academic traditions, preferring instead to imitate those found in the land of the former colonial power. The universities are usually removed, physically and spiritually from the societies that surround them and the students who are admitted into them are trained to be spiritually and physically removed from the realities of their countries' particular situation. Students in these institutions are usually taught to adjust their values to western norms, and in the words of one researcher, "at least to the point where (they regard) these norms as legitimate."[24] Consequently, most of the universities have been inherently conservative institutions which tend to produce conservative men and women. The curriculums in these higher institutions do not give the students the opportunity to question the assumptions on which their education is based. A student's progress is completely dependent on his ability to pass a series of standardized

examinations at the end of his three-year course. The students' future livelihood is thus, inextricably linked to his performance on these series of exams. Research studies have shown that the consequence of such a procedure is that the system does not place any importance on two outlets for creative scholarship - research papers and classroom performance. One result of such training is that the student is not taught to ask why certain phenomenon occur, but merely to know the fact that it does.[25] The conservatism of the students is enhanced because they have little need to search for new answers or raise new questions about the problems which confront them. Despite all the news one may get about student demonstrations in some African countries, the university students' conception of development does not emphasize being an agent of change as much as being a member of the professional class who work for the state or for a private corporation. Most often, the student is assured of the job in this professional class before he leaves the university. Joel Barkan points out in his recent studies of the Universities of Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania that, despite the rapid growth of African educational systems since independence, the methods of instruction and the values they communicate are basically the same as those which evolved during the colonial era. Barkan concludes that, "most African university students have thus, been trained to assume technocratic roles in an administrative state similar to that which existed in their countries prior to independence."[26]

Intellectuals who graduate from these universities therefore join the ranks of the colonial intellectuals to perpetuate intellectual dependency which is a major aspect of neo-colonialism. As Ali Mazrui demonstrates in his study of, Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa, "if western education has been a liberating experience in Africa, it has also been a

case of intellectual dependency."[27] Mazrui defines intellectual dependency as excessive reliance on an alien reference-group for ideas and analytical guidelines. The universe of ideas of these intellectuals has, in other words, been primarily western-derived.

On the question of economic development, Joel Barkan's research revealed some remarkable conclusions. Most of the students studied were able to point at the lack of entrepreneurial activities and agricultural development as the major problems of economic growth in their countries. However, when asked about what they planned to do after graduation, most indicated that because of the fear of risks, they would avoid areas of agriculture and high level entrepreneureal jobs and stick to simple but secured governmental jobs.[28] Barkan found out that few students intend to pursue careers in those sectors of their societies which they view as most critical to the developmental process.

This situation clearly shows then, that those areas found to be critical to the development process will continue to be occupied by foreigners, mostly officials from the former colonial power. With the indiscriminate amassing of wealth by colonial intellectuals who are now "life time" leaders of these countries and the attitude of the young intellectuals, economic dependency becomes a reality.

Finally, the ugly head of neo-colonialism gets bigger with the encouragement of cultural dependency. It is the acceptance of the foreign culture, which usually accompanies some forms of economic aid, and the rejection of the indigenous culture that create cultural dependency. The late Dr. Nkrumah realized quite early in the sixties that African Studies should be introduced in the Universities of Ghana to neutralize the strong

tradition of western ideas the students were exposed to. Ironically, the introduction of African Studies into the university curriculum received strong opposition from the African intellectuals, rather than from the non-African professors of the universities. Eric Ashby, in his study of African universities, pointed out that:

> "Some African intellectuals, especially those educated in Britain, resist changes in curriculum or in pattern of courses because they confuse such changes with lowering of standards. They are accordingly suspicious of any divergence from the British pattern. Some of them are particularly allergic to proposals for incorporating African Studies into the curriculum. Is this, they say, the first step toward disarming us intellectually, to substitute Arabic and African languages for the classics...to neglect Tudor history in favor of the history of Africa."(29)

Even though the opposition of these intellectuals was ignored, their attitude demonstrates their contributions to the development of cultural dependency, that kind of dependency that can be interpreted as the cornerstone of neo-colonialism.

Summary/Conclusions

The role of westernized African intellectuals in Africa's liberation has been the thesis of this paper. These intellectuals took almost undisputed leadership in the phase of political decolonization mainly as a result of their own personal interest and also as a reaction to the political order created by the colonial power. The paper has attempted to, first, raise the issue that if the colonial political situation had absorbed the intellectuals, their role might have been different. Secondly, it has attempted to deliberate on the essence of western higher education in Africa and the contribution of this education to the perpetuation of neo-colonialism.

Considering the above, one can conclude that the future of any positive contribution to the total liberation of Africa from the intellectual is in doubt. Drastic revisions in the university curriculum and in the orientation of students are needed to ensure a meaningful role of the intellectual in the total economic, cultural and intellectual liberation of Africa.

NOTES

1. William Hanna, "Students, Universities and Political Outcomes," in William and Judith Hanna (eds.) University Students and African Politics New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1975 pg. 1.

2. Shills, E. "The Intellectual in the Political Development of the New States," in Political Development & Social Change. Edited by J. Finkle and R. Gable. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971, pp. 249.

3. James S. Coleman, "The Politics of Sub-Sahara Africa," Case No. 3 in G.A. Almond and James S. Coleman, The Politics of the Developing Areas., Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960., p. 278.

4. Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian and African. Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Press, 1966., p. 147.

5. Ruth Sloan Associates, The Educated African. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962., p. 326.

6. G. Cowan, J. O'Connel and D. Scanlon (eds.), Education and Nation Building in Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger 1966., pg. 4.

7. Cheikh Hamidou Kane, L'Aventure Ambigue., Paris: Julliard., p. 52 (translated by Francis X. Sutton).

8. G. Cowan, J. O'Connel and D. Scanlon (eds.), Education and Nation Building in Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966., pp. 28.

9. E. Shils., Op. Cit., pp 253.

10. E. Shils., Op. Cit., pp. 253.

11. Rupert Emerson., From Empire to Nation. Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Press, 1960., pp. 54.

12. Immanuel Wallerstein., "The Emergence of Two West African Nations Ghana & Ivory Coast," Unpublished ph.D Thesis, Columbia University, 1959., pg. 58.

13. David Apter., Ghana in Transition., New York: Atheneum, 1963., pg. 24.

14. W.W. Claridge., A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti. 2 vols., London: John Murray, 1915., pg. 619.

15. Philip Foster. Education and Social Change in Ghana. Chigaco: University of Chicago Press, 1965., pg. 95.

NOTES (contd.)

16. Ruth Sloan Associates., The Educated African., New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962., pp. 328.

17. Adjei Brenya., "Development of one party States.," in West Africa, February 8, 1982., pp. 362.

18. Ibid., pg. 362.

19. Ibid., pg. 362.

20. Ghana Ministry of Education., Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Asquith Report, London: Her Majesty Stationary Office, 1945.

21. Adam Curle., Educational Problems of Developing Societies: With Case Studies of Ghana and Pakistan. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969., pp. 87.

22. Ibid., pp. 87.

23. Eric Ashby. African Universities and Western Tradition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964., pp. 20.

24. Joel Barkan., An African Dilemma., Nairobi: Oxford University Press., 1975., pp. 2.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., pg. 188.

27. Ali Mazrui. Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978., pp. 368.

28. Joel Barkan., Op. Cit., pp. 103.

29. Eric Ashby., African Universities Western Tradition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966. pp. 61-62.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apter, David. Ghana in Transition. New York: Altheneum., 1963.

Ashby, Eric., African Universities and Western Tradition., Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.

_____. Universities: British, Indian and African. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Barkan, Joel., An African Dilemma., Nairobi: Oxford University Press., 1975.

Brenya, Adjei., "Development of One Party States," in WEST AFRICA., February 8, 1982.

Claridge, W.W., A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti., 2 Volumes., London: John Murray, 1915.

Coleman, James S., "The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa." Case No. 3 in Almond, G.A. and Coleman, James. S., The Politics of the Developing Areas, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press., 1960.

Cowan, G., O'Connel, J., and Scanlon, D., (eds.), Education and Nation Building in Africa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger., 1966.

Curle, Adam., Educational Problems of Developing Societies: With Case Studies of Ghana and Pakistan. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969.

Emerson, Rupert. From Empire to Nation. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press., 1960.

Foster, Philip., Education and Social Change in Ghana., Chicago: University of Chicago Press., 1965.

Ghana Ministry of Education. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Asquith Report, London: Her Majesty Stationary Office, 1945.

Hanna, Williams. "Students, Universities and Political Outcomes," in Hanna, William and Hanna, Judith (eds.), University Students and African Politics. New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1975.

Kane, Cheikh Hamidou. L'Aventure Ambigue. Paris: Julliard. (Translated by Francis X. Sutton).

Mazrui, Ali. Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press., 1978.

Shils, E., "The Intellectual in the Political Development of the New States." in Political Development and Social Change. Edited by Finkle, J. & Gable, R. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971.

Sloan, Kichen & Associates., The Educated African. New York: Frederick, A. Praeger., 1962.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The Emergence of Two West African Nations: Ghana and Ivory Coast." Unpublished Ph.D Thesis., Columbia University, 1959.